

Further Observations on the Location of Grand Magne

J. M. WAGSTAFF

I. LOCATION

The *Chronicle of the Morea* is full of intriguing problems. One of these is the precise location of the castle variously known as *Máini*, *Megáli Máini*, and *Palaiá Máini* in the Greek text and *Grand Maigne* or *Grand Magne* in the French version.¹ Answers have been offered before,² but all of them are to some extent unsatisfactory, even that produced by Kriesis which is identical with the one provided here. Rather than offering a critique of the previous attempts to identify Frankish Máini, this paper looks anew at the available evidence and seeks to review it both systematically and from an overtly geographical standpoint.

Most of the documentary references to Máini occur in the *Chronicle of the Morea* itself, a work completed in its final form about 1340 or some 112 years after the building of the castle.³ The first ref-

erence is a brief account of how the castle came to be founded and, since it contains valuable information about location which must be used later in the argument, the story should be summarized here. The Greek version of the *Chronicle* is used as the basis for this⁴ since the extant French text, which may be closest to the original, contains a lacuna in the critical passage.⁵

II. EVIDENCE

The *Chronicle* tells how, after the capture of Monemvasía from the Greeks ca. 1248, Guillaume II Villehardouin built a castle named Mistrá "on a wonderful hill, cut off from the ridge as a peak, a mile or more above Lakedaimonía."⁶ No reason was specifically given. The new castle might have been built to provide more security than was offered by Lakedaimonía on the hilly site of ancient Sparta near the Eurotas, but the *Chronicle* strongly suggests that it was built to control the Melingoi, a Slavic tribe still unassimilated in the fastness of the Taygetos Mountains.⁷ Since the Melingoi "respected no lord," Guillaume II wished to bring them under control. He summoned a council to advise him what to do. It recommended "that now that the castle of Mistrá has come into being. . . , he should erect another somewhere around those mountains so that he might control the area. Thereupon, the prince himself made a tour on horseback, following the directions of the people of the land, and he passed Passavá and journeyed to Máini, and there he found an awesome crag on a promontory. Because he found it very pleasing, he built there a castle and named it Máini, as it is

An early version of this paper was given to the Southampton Medieval Seminar as long ago as 1975, and the author is grateful to the members for the many helpful comments made on that happy occasion. He is also grateful to an anonymous reader who made many suggestions for improving the paper, though the remaining blemishes are the author's responsibility. The author wishes to thank the Cartographic Unit, Southampton University, for producing the illustrations. Figure 8, *Veduta di Chieleva* from Le Père Coronelli, *Description géographique et historique de la Morée* (Paris, 1686), pp. 114–15, is published by permission of the British Library.

¹The origin and use of the term *Máni* are described by A. Bon, *La Morée franque: Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la Principauté d'Achaïe (1205–1430)* (Paris, 1969), 502 ff.

²E.g., Bon, *La Morée*, 503–4; P. P. Calongos, "A travers le Magne: Les châteaux francs de Passava et du Grand Magne," *L'hellénisme contemporain* 3 (1939), 375–80; A. Kriesis, "On the Castles of Zarnata and Kelefa," *BZ* 56 (1963), 308–16; A. Philippson, *Der Peloponnes* (Berlin, 1892), 228; I. Th. Sphekopoulos, *Tà mesaiwoniká kástrea tou Mωghá* (Athens, 1968), 385–88.

³H. E. Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of the Morea, Translated from the Greek, with Notes and Introduction* (New York, 1964), 60; J. Schmitt, ed. *The Chronicle of the Morea* (London, 1904), xxxvi–xxxvii; D. Jacoby, "Quelques considérations sur les versions de la *Chronique de Morée*," *Journal des Savants* (1968), 133–89.

⁴Schmitt, *Chronicle*, *ibid.*; Lurier, *Chronicle*, *ibid.*

⁵J. Longnon, *Chronique de Morée (1204–1303)* (Paris, 1911), 73 note 1.

⁶Lurier, *Chronicle*, 158–59.

⁷*Ibid.*, 159; Gy. Moravcsik and R. J. H. Jenkins, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio*, 2nd ed. (Washington, D.C., 1967), § 50.16–20 (hereafter *DAI*).

still called.”⁸ The measure was a success, for the Melingoi decided to do homage and perform military service in return for exemption from corvée and taxation.⁹ Some of the Melingoi subsequently advised Guillaume to build a third castle on the coast, which would give him more effective control over their territory. This was the castle of Léftro, or Beaufort, in Éxo Máni.¹⁰

It is after describing the foundation of Máini that the *Chronicle* usually refers to Villehardouin's castle as *Megáli* or *Palaiá Máini* in Greek and *Grant Maigne* or *Grand Magne* in French.¹¹ The adjectives were presumably employed to distinguish the Frankish castle from another place bearing the same or a similar name. One possibility is the *kastró* of Máini mentioned in the compilation of Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus known as *De Administrando Imperio*.¹² This, in turn, may be the same place as Maine, described as a “good and strong castle” situated on the “Gulf of Witun” (Vitylo—now generally known as the Gulf of Mesenia) at the end of the twelfth century by an anonymous English chronicler writing a life of Richard I, *Coeur de Lion*.¹³ However, it may be significant that the *Chronicle of the Morea* makes no reference to a preexisting castle or town called Máini in the region where Villehardouin built his castle; it may simply not have existed in the middle of the thirteenth century. Yet the name clearly survived into that period, though probably only as that of a diocese and a geographical region which lay to the west of Passavá.¹⁴ If this suggestion is accepted, then it would seem that the Morean chronicler was concerned to distinguish Villehardouin's castle from another castle or settlement which, by the time of writing, had actually come into existence. The most likely candidate is a settlement near Kalamáta referred to in the *Chronicle* as *Maniatokhóri* or *Maigne*,¹⁵ but as *la terre de Mayna* in a list of fiefs drawn up in 1377 and *le Meyne* in a list of hearths produced in 1391, where it was definitely linked

with Kalamáta.¹⁶ In later times, this settlement was normally known as Mikrománi.¹⁷ Presumably, the diminutive form is the counterpart of “great” or “old” and, as well as lower status, may indicate foundation subsequent to Villehardouin's Máini.

Apart from those in the *Chronicle of the Morea*, documentary references to the castle of Máini are relatively scarce. “The castle of Mayna” was the scene of an alleged Greek attack upon a Venetian ship sometime before 1278,¹⁸ while *le Meyne* appeared in the 1391 list of hearths.¹⁹ Maina or Mayna was marked on portolan charts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,²⁰ while Maina Grande was mentioned in the collection of historical notes compiled by Stefano Magno, part of which dealt with events in the Morea over the period 1479 to 1497.²¹ The same Italianized form of the name also occurred in two lists of places held by the Venetians during 1463 and 1467 respectively and, in both cases, it was clearly meant to be distinguished from another Maina which the context suggests must be the settlement near Kalamáta already mentioned.²² The name continued to be used for a castle or settlement on charts and maps well into the eighteenth century, but the cartographic sources show little agreement about its location, apart from placing it in the Máni peninsula.

III. CANDIDATES FOR IDENTIFICATION

To qualify for identification as Grand Magne, a site must fulfill six criteria. Four of these emerge from the *Chronicle of the Morea* itself, summarized and quoted here:

1. The location of any claimant must make sense as part of the strategy of containment applied to the Melingoi and in relation to the other princely

⁸Lurier, *Chronicle*, 159.

⁹Ibid., 160.

¹⁰Ibid., 161.

¹¹Schmitt, *Chronicle*, lines 4330, 4425, 4662; Longnon, *Chronique*, lines 207, 218, 317, 326, 502, 762.

¹²DAI, 70–82.

¹³Benedict of Peterborough, *Gesta Regis Ricardi*, ed. W. Stubbs, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* 49 (London, 1867), II, 199.

¹⁴*Maini* first appeared as the name of a diocese in the early 10th century and continued in use down to the Frankish conquest of the Morea (A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204* [Paris, 1951], 106–7) and beyond (W. M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea* [London, 1830], I, 264).

¹⁵Schmitt, *Chronicle*, lines 8069, 8094; Longnon, *Chronique*, lines 741, 742.

¹⁶Bon, *La Morée*, appendix A, p. 692.

¹⁷Longnon, *Chronique*, 295 note 1; J. Longnon and P. Topping, *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la Principauté de Morée au XIVe siècle* (Paris-The Hague, 1969), 246; Lurier, *Chronicle*, 161 note 20.

¹⁸G. M. Thomas, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum sive Acta et Diplomata res Venetas, Graecas atque Levantinas illustrantia*, a. 1300–1350, I (Venice, 1880), no. 72, 127; G. Morgan, “The Venetian Claims Commission of 1278,” *BZ* 69 (1976), 411–38.

¹⁹Bon, *La Morée*, appendix A, p. 692.

²⁰K. Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Meerskunde und des geographischen Instituts an der Universität Berlin 13 (Berlin, 1909), 635; A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Periplus: An Essay on the Early History of Charts and Sailing Directions*, trans. F. A. Bather (Stockholm, 1897), 25–44.

²¹C. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Age*, VI (Paris, 1884), 227.

²²C. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romaines inédites ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1873), 202–3, 205–6.

fortresses involved (Mistrá and Léftro), as well as to the baronial castles of Passavá and Grítsena,²³ which were built at the same time as Grand Magne²⁴ and should probably be considered part of the same grand design.

2. The site of Grand Magne must lie beyond Passavá when traveling from Mistrá. In other words, it must lie to the west of Passavá.

3. It must be situated in Máini, toward which Guillaume II was traveling after building the castle of Mistrá and passing Passavá.

4. The site must be capable of being described as σπήλαιον φοβερόν εἰς ἀκρωτήρι ἀπάνω: “an awesome crag on a promontory.” This characterization of the site requires a little more consideration. The meaning of a critical word, σπήλαιον, is obscure, though Lurier argued that it signifies a “cliff” or “steep rock” and tended to translate it as “crag.”²⁵ The *Chronicle* uses the same term correctly to describe the sites of Coron and Arkadiá, as well as a small hill lying to the north of Acrocorinth.²⁶ This would suggest that the chronicler was aware of the topographical individuality of the sites which he describes, despite the possibility of poetic license shown by the fact that 32 percent of the half-lines in the same groups as the description of Máini are repetitious.²⁷ Thus the site of Máini has to be recognizably a “crag” or “steep rock” but, in view of the topographical accuracy usually displayed by the chronicler, it must be one that stands on a promontory. A geographical dictionary defines a promontory as “a headland; a cliff or crag projecting into the sea.”²⁸ In other words, the site of Grand Magne must be a coastal crag, on a headland.

To these criteria from the *Chronicle*, two more may be added:

5. The situation of the castle must make strategic sense in a pattern of fortresses (Geráki, Máini, Mistrá, and Monemvasía) ceded with “all the theme around Kisterna” in 1262.²⁹

6. There must be fortifications on the site containing at least some Frankish elements.

The *Chronicle* contains no reference to Frankish Máini being constructed as a control on the Maniats, though apparently a confusion of the Melingo with the Maniats seems to have led both Kriesis and Bon to include the possibility in their discussion of the castle’s location.³⁰ It is discounted here.

Criteria 2 and 3 indicate that the site of Grand Magne must lie in the Máni peninsula in southern Lakonía. While this region now contains many ruined settlements, some of them dating to the Middle Ages,³¹ only four sites have emerged as serious contenders for identification as Grand Magne. They are (Fig. 1):

1. the fort above Porto Káio³²
2. the Tiganí³³
3. Kástro tis Oriás³⁴
4. Kelephá.³⁵

The claims of each of these will be examined in ascending order of probability.

The Fort above Porto Káio

The claims of the small fort high on the rocky slopes above the northern shore of the landlocked harbor known as Porto Káio rest almost exclusively on its being called Maina by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century cartographers, including the celebrated Venetian Vincenzo Coronelli, who produced a plan (Fig. 2). It certainly lies well beyond Passavá, far to the south in the Máni peninsula, but the site is neither a secondary peninsula nor an “awesome crag.” Moreover, the fort does not appear to have existed during the Middle Ages. It would have been a prominent landmark for ships entering the harbor, but it is not mentioned in medieval portolans,³⁶ while Ciriaco of Ancona, who described the harbor and may have actually visited it in 1447, made no mention of a castle or

²³ Lurier, *Chronicle*, 126–28.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 165.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 118 note 31.

²⁶ Schmitt, *Chronicle*, lines 1695–97, 1770–73, 2801–4. (Arkadiá is on the site of the Messenian Kyparissía.)

²⁷ M. J. Jeffreys, “Formulas in the Chronicle of the Morea,” *DOP* 27 (1973), 163–95, table 5.

²⁸ W. G. Moore, *The Penguin Dictionary of Geography*, 7th ed. (Harmondsworth, 1988), 172.

²⁹ “All the theme around Kisterna” is an addition made to the *Chronicle*’s list by the Byzantine historian Pachymeres; Lurier, *Chronicle*, 19, 197 note 79.

³⁰ Bon, *La Morée*, 503–4; Kriesis, above (note 2). See also Lurier, *Chronicle*, 118 note 36.

³¹ R. Etzeoglou, “Karyoupolis: Une ville byzantine désertée,” *Byzantion* 52 (1982), 83–123; T. Moschos and L. Moschou, “The Palaeomaniatika: The Transition from the Ancient Polis to Byzantine Chora,” *Ekistics* 49 (1982), 261–70.

³² Leake, *Travels*, I, 307–8; R. Traquair, “Laconia I: Mediaeval Fortresses,” *BSA* 12 (1905–6), 259–76.

³³ Longnon, *Chronique*, 422; H. Waterhouse and R. Hope Simpson, “Prehistoric Laconia: Part 2,” *BSA* 56 (1961), 114–78.

³⁴ Bon, *La Morée*, 503–4; Calonaros, above (note 2); Philippson, *Der Peloponnes*, 228; Sphekopoulos, op. cit., 385–88.

³⁵ Kriesis, op. cit.

³⁶ A. Delatte, ed., *Les portulans grecs* (Liège-Paris, 1947); *Portolan Parma-Magliabecchi* ca. 1430, in Kretschmer, *Italianische Portolane*, 317; *Portolan of Gratiosus Benincasa* 1435, *ibid.*, 401–2; *Portolan of Bernardino Rizo* 1490, *ibid.*, 508–9.

any other sort of fortification.³⁷ In fact, the available evidence points to the site first being fortified by the Turks ca. 1568 to defend Porto Káio, which was then in use as a base for galleys operating in the Kythera Channel.³⁸ The castle was used for only a couple of years before it was attacked by the Venetians in 1570.³⁹ Subsequently abandoned by the Turks, the castle was reused by the pirate Lambros Katzones during the Russo-Turkish war of 1787–92, only to be destroyed later by naval gunfire.⁴⁰

The Tigáni

The Tigáni seems a more substantial claimant. Like the fort above Porto Káio, it lies well beyond Passavá in the southern Máni. The site itself is an oval-shaped plateau, but it lies at the end of a narrow isthmus of bare white rocks—a peninsula rather than a promontory.⁴¹ Although the site is virtually surrounded by cliffs, it can hardly be described as a crag. There are fortifications, namely, on the approaches to the plateau from the isthmus (Fig. 3), and Hope Simpson believed they were largely of medieval date.⁴² Entrance to the plateau is gained by a steep path and a flight of stairs which lead through a gateway into a short open passage. Immediately opposite the gate are the remains of a large church, partially excavated in 1964 and dated originally, rather vaguely, to sometime before the Fourth Crusade (1204) but, now that they have been cleared, to the eighth or ninth centuries.⁴³ The rest of the plateau is covered thickly

with the ruins of rectangular buildings and oval cisterns, as well as a litter of marble, limestone, brick (or tile) and pottery fragments. As Bon observed, these are the remains of a town, not a fortress.⁴⁴

Rejection of the Tigáni as the site of Grand Magne is confirmed by considering its strategic location, first in relation to the containment of the Melingoi and, second, in the pattern of fortresses ceded in 1262.

The *Chronicle of the Morea* gives little information about either the location or the extent of the territory of the Melingoi, but it can be roughly delimited on the basis of earlier documentary evidence and the distribution of Slavic place names. *De Administrando Imperio*, compiled by Constantine Porphyrogenitus between 948 and 952,⁴⁵ reported that around that time two Slavic tribes, the Ezeritai as well as the Melingoi, were located on the flanks of a “very high mountain called Pentadaktylos.”⁴⁶ Pentadáktylos is still the name given to the group of peaks in the highest part of the Taýgetos range of mountains to the west of Sparta (Fig. 4). This highest section of the mountains is defined by the plains of Messenia to the west and the trough of Lakedaímon to the east, and by two passes—the Langáda and Milolangáda—to the north and south respectively.⁴⁷ Kougeas has argued that the Ezeritai lived toward the southeast,⁴⁸ where the place name Ezero was in use as an alternative to Helos as late as 1340,⁴⁹ and the Melingoi to the northwest, that is, actually on the slopes of Taýgetos. There is every reason to suppose that the Melingoi occupied much the same district in the thirteenth century.

The reality of the Slavic presence in this region seems to be confirmed by the distribution of Slavic place names. Vasmer recognized 81 of these in Lakonía, as then defined,⁵⁰ and 61 of these (75 percent) can readily be identified (Fig. 4). The distribution shows some general association with the Taýgetos Mountains, but with marked concentrations in the northern parts of the Máni and around

³⁷ R. Sabbadini, “Ciriaco d’Ancona e la sua descrizione autografa del Peloponneso trasmessa da Leonardo Botta,” *Classici e umanisti da Codici Ambrosiani*, Fontes Ambrosiani 2 (Florence, 1933), 27–28.

³⁸ V. Coronelli, *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Morea, Negropont, and the Maritime Places as far as Thessalonika*, Englished by R. W., Gent. (London, 1687), 102–3; V. Lamansky, *Secrets d’état de Venise: Documents, extraits, notices et études* (St. Petersburg, 1884), 602; M. Th. Laskaris, “Ἐκκλήσεις τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Μάνης Νεοφύτου πρὸς τοὺς Ἰσπανοὺς (1612–13) διὰ τὴν ἀπελευθέρωσιν τῆς Πελοποννήσου,” *Ἑλληνικά* 15 (1957), 299; W. Miller, “Turkish Greece, 1460–1674,” in his *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921), 355–401.

³⁹ Attack shown in G. F. Camotti, *Isole famose porti, fortezze, e terre maritime . . .* (Venice, ca. 1571), no. 38. See also Coronelli, op. cit., 102–3.

⁴⁰ G. Finlay, *A History of Greece from Its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time, 146 B.C. to A.D. 1864*, V (Oxford, 1877), 269–73.

⁴¹ The site is fully described in Waterhouse and Hope Simpson, above (note 33).

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ N. B. Drandakis, “Ἀνασκαφὴ εἰς τὸ Τιγάνι τῆς Μάνης, Πρακτ. Ἀρχ. Ἐτ. (1964), 121–35; idem, *Τοιχογραφαὶ ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Μέσας Μάνης*, Ἀρχαιολογικὰ Ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν 4 (1971), 232–39.

⁴⁴ Bon, *La Morée*, 503.

⁴⁵ DAI, p. 11.

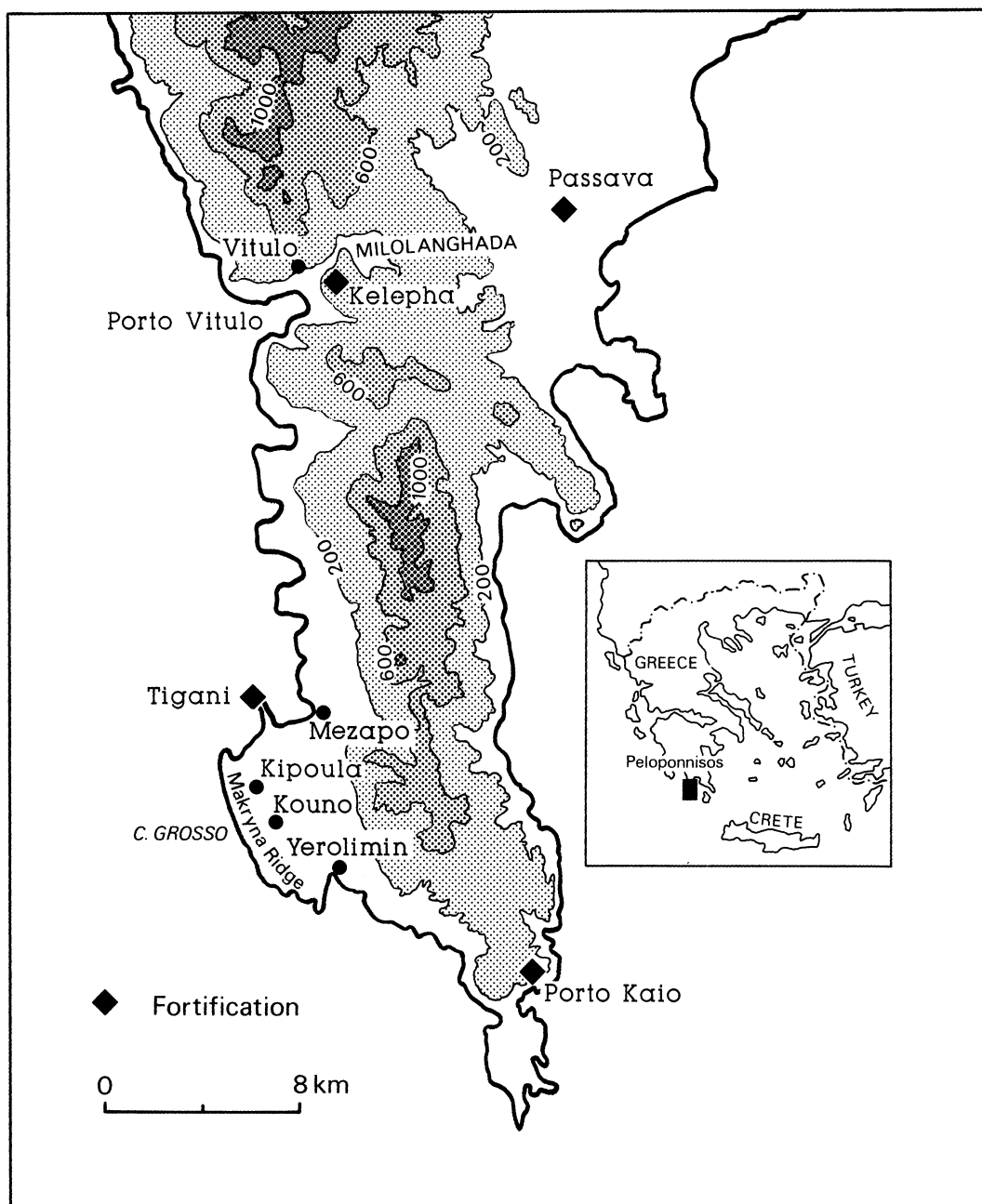
⁴⁶ Ibid., § 50.16–17.

⁴⁷ Ibid., § 50.16–20.

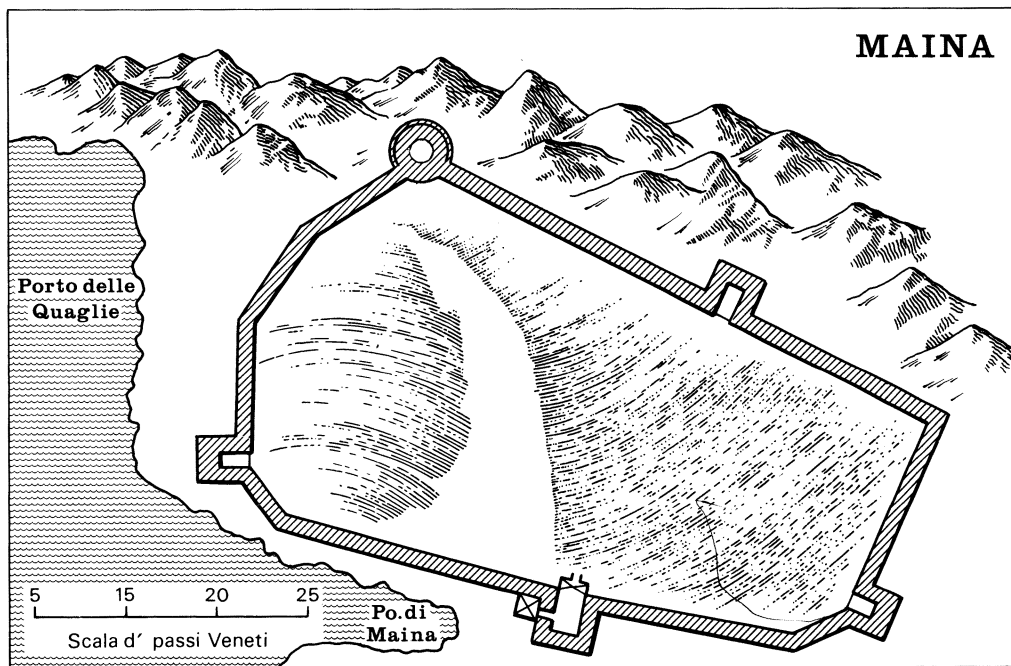
⁴⁸ S. Kougeas, *Περὶ τῶν Μελιγκῶν τοῦ Ταῦγέτου ἐξ ἀφορμῆς ἀνεκδότου Βυζαντινῆς ἐπιγραφῆς τῆς Λακωνίας* (Athens, 1950).

⁴⁹ D. A. Zakythinis, “La population de la Morée byzantine II,” *L’hellénisme contemporain* 13 (1949), 107–32.

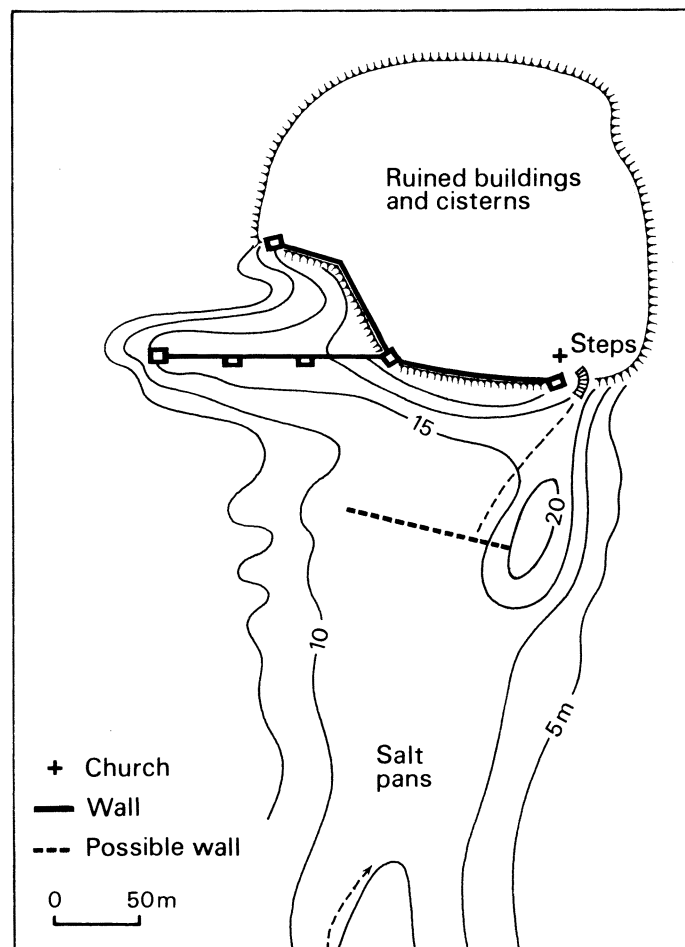
⁵⁰ M. Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griechenland*, AbhBerl, Philol.-hist.Kl. 12 (Berlin, 1941).



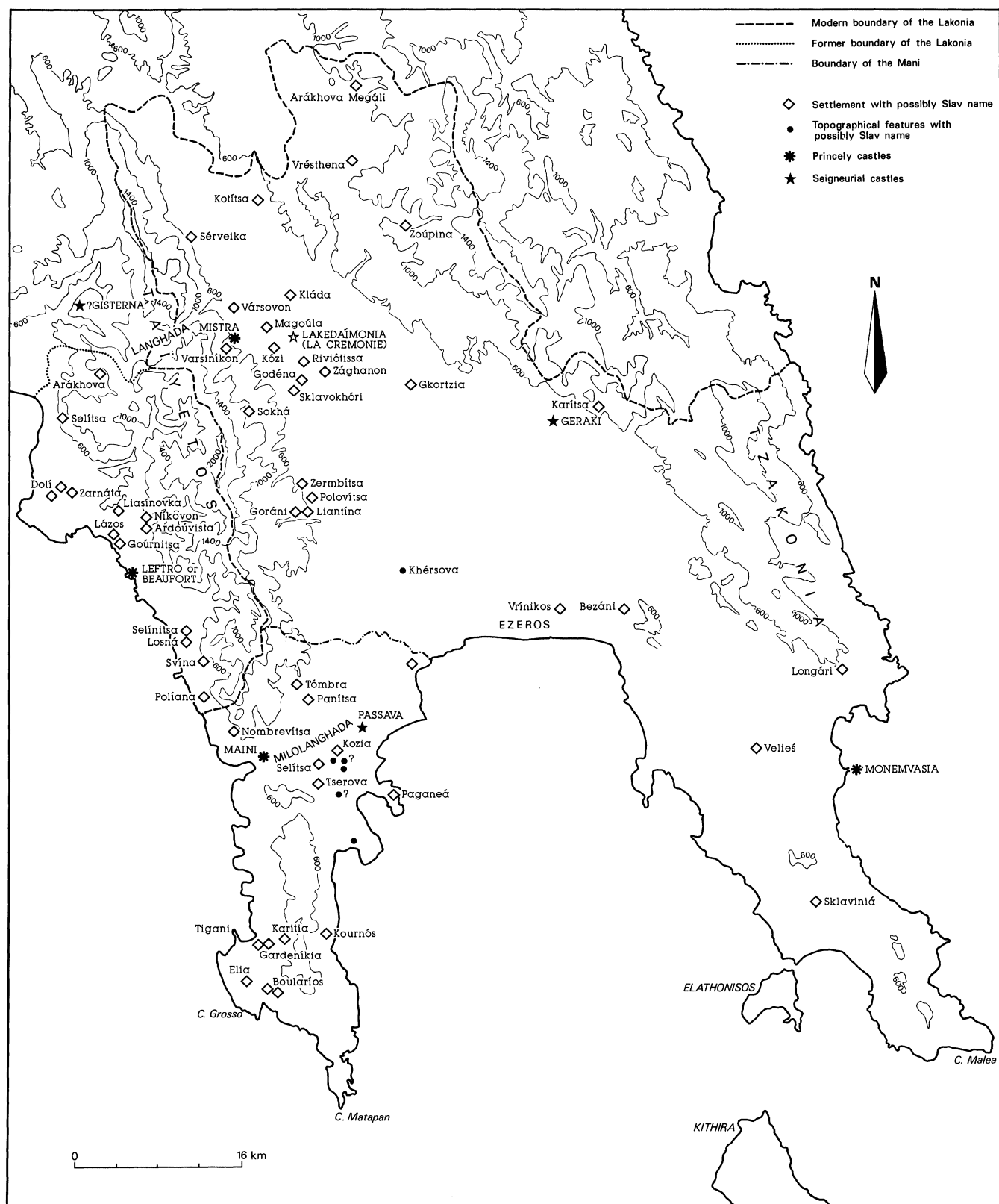
1 Location of places in the Mání mentioned in the text



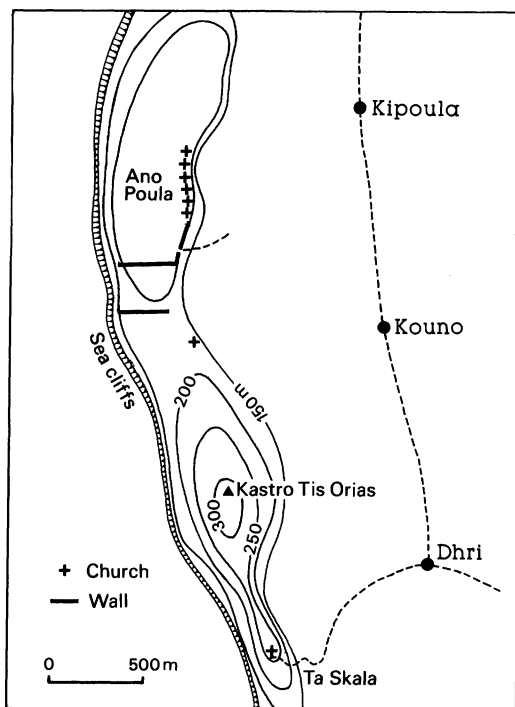
2 Seventeenth-century plan of the Castle at Porto Káio (redrawn after Coronelli, 1687)



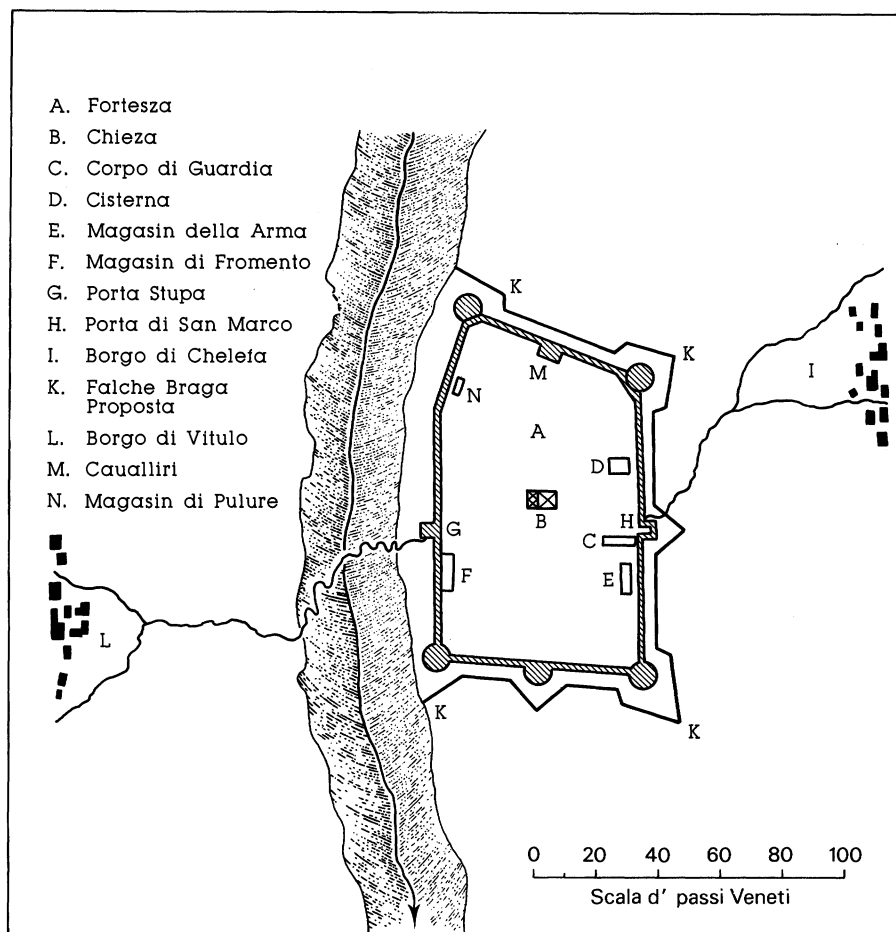
3 The Tigáni (after Waterhouse and Hope Simpson, 1961)



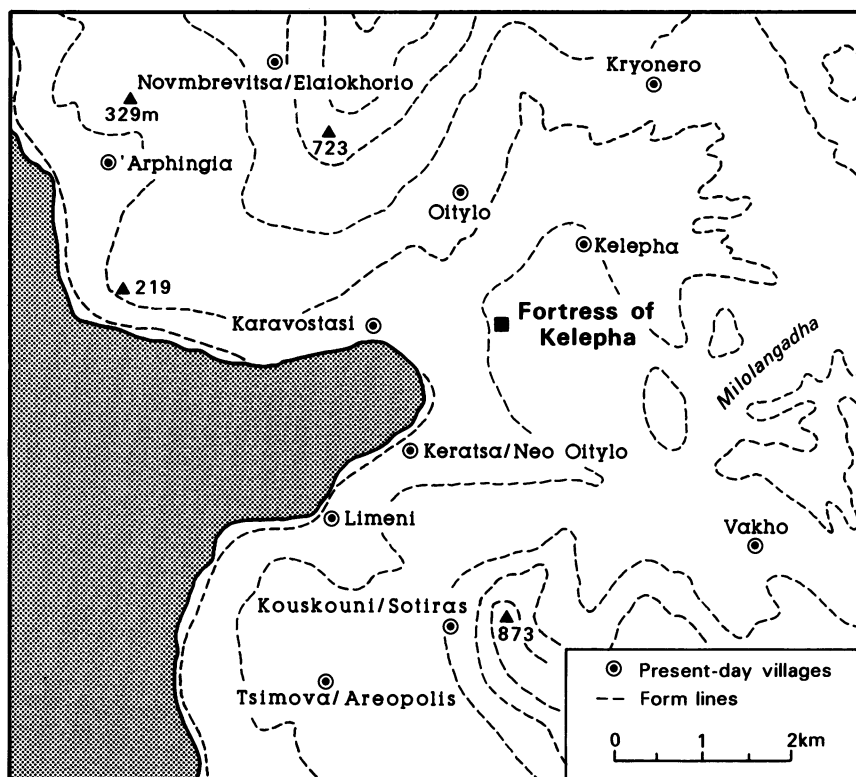
4 Lakonia: Fortresses and Slavic place names



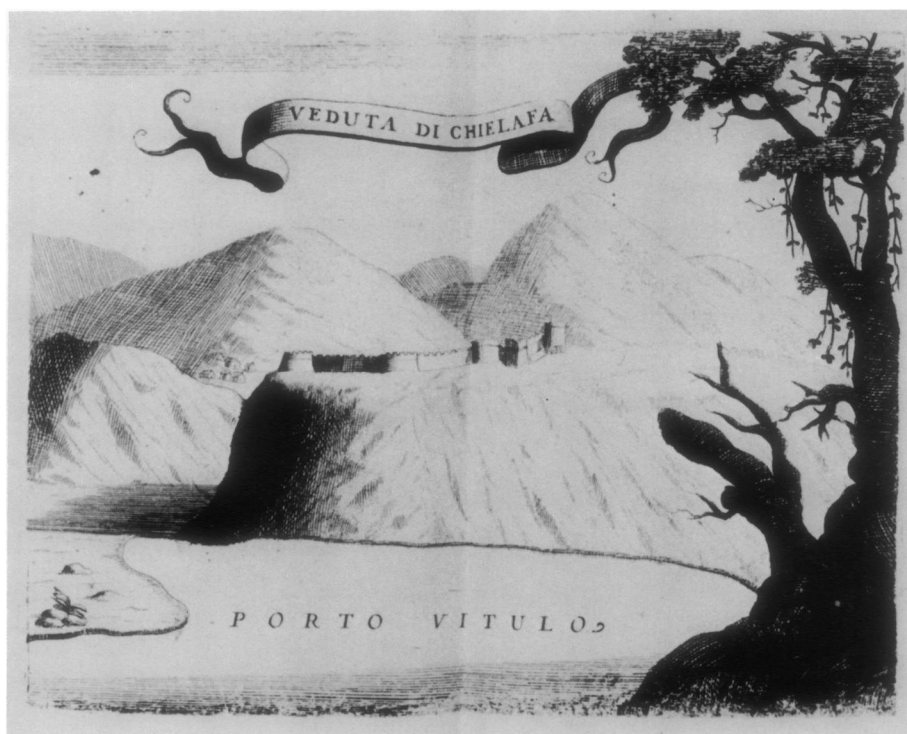
5 The Makrýna ridge (after Waterhouse and Hope Simpson, 1961)



6 Seventeenth-century plan of Kelephá (redrawn after Andrews, 1953, pl. vi)



7 Situation of Kelephá (based on British Staff, *Greece: 1:100,000 Sheet M7 Yithion*, 1st ed., London, 1944)



8 Kelephá from the southwest (after Coronelli, Paris, 1686)

Mistrá and Lakedaimonía. This was presumably the territory of the Melingoi, though the whole district was sometimes known during the Middle Ages as *Sclavonia*.⁵¹ Fortresses at Grítsena,⁵² Léftro, Passavá, and Mistrá could have boxed in the territory of the Melingoi very effectively with the help of another fortress somewhere to the south. Mistrá and Grítsena controlled opposite ends of the Langáda across the northern part of the region. In the south, Passavá guarded the eastern end of the Milolangáda. Strategic sense would then suggest that Máini/Grand Magne would have been established to defend its western end. The Tigáni is too far south to meet that requirement. Its fortification would make more sense in a strategy based on the sea, such as may be envisaged in the Byzantine recovery of the Peloponnese from Slavic political domination early in the ninth century.⁵³

Similar conclusions can be drawn from a consideration of the pattern of fortresses (Geráki, Máini, Mistrá, and Monemvasía) ceded by the Franks to the Byzantines in 1262. They were not chosen at random. Leaving out Máini, the pattern of fortresses has a spatial coherence which reflects the strategy of a state possessed of a certain amount of seapower⁵⁴ when faced with attacking a land-based state. Mistrá and Grítsena defended the Langáda, which led from the Byzantine advanced bases toward the core of the Frankish principality in Messenia. Geráki stands on the direct route to Mistrá from Monemvasía, the secure fortress-port off the difficult eastern coast of the Malea peninsula and the point where the first Greek forces were landed when the Byzantine invasion began.⁵⁵ Protection and consolidation of a bridgehead in Lakonía would require that, wherever it was precisely located, Máini should defend a port on the left flank of the region. As Kriesis pointed out, the Tigáni is too far south to provide the protection needed, "as then the approach to the southwest part of the Laconian plain was controlled by the Franks and lay open to a counterattack over the strategic route of

Beaufort–Vitylo gulf–the pass–Passava."⁵⁶ Máini's role in the strategy would make more sense if it was located further north than the Tigáni.

Kástro tis Oriás

The third candidate for consideration lies on the Makrýna ridge in the southwest corner of the Máni. The ridge is the highest and most westerly of a series of massive topographic steps or terraces that characterize the Cape Grosso promontory. It is bounded to seaward by steep cliffs containing sea caves and to the landward by a rampart of cliffs and steep slopes. Access is difficult, virtually confined to a partly constructed and partly worn pathway at the southern end and to a few breaks in the natural defenses roughly opposite the modern village of Kipoúla. Thus there are considerable possibilities for defense. The location is a good one for a castle. Moreover, there are superb views, not only along the entire western coast of the Máni northwards but also across the Gulf of Messenia toward Coron. "Its military value" constituted for Bon "the best argument in favor of localizing the castle constructed by Guillaume de Villehardouin . . . at this point."⁵⁷ Further support for locating Máini/Grand Magne here includes a situation that is obviously beyond Passavá and proximity to the Tigáni which, as hinted above, is a possible site for early Byzantine Máini. Ports would be available on the inner side of the Tigáni isthmus, as well as nearby at Mézapo and further south at Yerolimín. However, the southerly position of the Makrýna ridge causes it to fail the test of strategic location with respect to both the containment of the Melingoi and the pattern of fortresses ceded in 1262 (see above).

The final criterion which any claimant for identification as Grand Magne must fulfill is that of fortifications on the site. These exist at Porto Káio and on the Tigáni, but the highest point of the Makrýna ridge, *Kástro tis Oriás* (>300 m), was found to be "conspicuously barren" by Hope Simpson,⁵⁸ despite an indication from French surveyors of the early nineteenth century that it was fortified,⁵⁹ a view taken over by Colonel Leake in his supplement to *Travels in the Morea*.⁶⁰ The absence of fortifications has been confirmed by the present au-

⁵¹ Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin*, 73, 1; G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante*, III (Vienna, 1857), doc. 370, 232.

⁵² The site of Grítsena is not precisely known but thought to be northeast of Kalamáta: O. Markl, *Ortsnamen Griechenlands in "fränkischer" Zeit*, Byzantina Vindobonensia 1 (Graz-Cologne, 1966), 160–61 note 19.

⁵³ G. L. Huxley, "The Second Dark Age of the Peloponnese," *Λακωνικά Σπουδαί* 3 (1977), 84–110.

⁵⁴ D. J. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 125–27.

⁵⁵ Lurier, *Chronicle*, 203–5.

⁵⁶ Kriesis, above (note 2), p. 315.

⁵⁷ Bon, *La Morée*, 503.

⁵⁸ Waterhouse and Hope Simpson, above (note 33).

⁵⁹ Bon, *La Morée*, 503; Philippson, *Der Peloponnes*, 208.

⁶⁰ Commission Scientifique de Morée, *Relations du Voyage de la Commission Scientifique de Morée*, I (Paris-Strasbourg, 1836), 51;

thor's own fieldwork. Three small structures of dry-stone walling were found at the northern edge of the almost flat-topped hill. They had evidently been used as animal pens, like similar structures on the southern and eastern slopes of the site. By contrast, fortification walls were found on the southern approaches to another high section of the ridge known as Áno Poúla and at the point of access from the modern village of Kipoúla (Fig. 5). Woodward reported the existence of "rough walls of local stone (in the area) . . . which contain many roughly squared blocks,"⁶¹ while Hope Simpson noted pottery of classical and prehistoric date.⁶² The walls do not appear to complete a circuit, and the ruins of a keep, such as one might expect to find in a Frankish castle, were not apparent when the site was visited by the present writer. However, the defended area was covered with small, overgrown fields and ruined structures (including a small church), as well as masses of broken pottery. A group of medieval churches was also conspicuous along the eastern cliff line.⁶³ The ruins look more like those of a town or village than a castle. Their almost inaccessible location suggests that the site had a refuge function, rather than one of containment as implied in the *Chronicle of the Morea*. Áno Poúla may be the site of either Byzantine Máini or pre-Roman Hippola⁶⁴—possibly both.

Kelephá

The final candidate for the site of Grand Magne is the fortress of Kelephá. This conforms very well to Criterion 6 given above. Substantial fortifications still remain, and it is easy to recognize the walls and individual bastions shown on Venetian plans of the late seventeenth–early eighteenth century (Fig. 6). Long, straight, and comparatively thin curtain walls, built largely of rubble and tile, defend an area of some 12,000 m². In the midst of the south walls and at the four corners are round bastions with battering exterior walls and vaulted interiors, but with narrow parapet walks which seem incapable of taking the recoil of guns

mounted on carriages.⁶⁵ Kelephá is clearly not successful as a fortress designed to withstand gunfire or to defend itself in the same way, despite the sixty-two guns reported there in 1715.⁶⁶ Andrews attributed this to Turkish ineptitude, for he believed that the fortress was built *de novo* by the grand vizier about 1670.⁶⁷ Most commentators have thought the same way, frequently basing their argument on the story given to Spon and Wheler as they sailed south along the Maniat coast in July 1675.⁶⁸ The two travelers were told that the Turks had persuaded the Maniats to allow them to build two forts on the coast, thus depriving them of their liberty and forcing them to pay tribute. However, the Turkish traveler Evliya Çelebi tells a different tale. He records how, during the grand vizier's punitive expedition against the Maniats in August/September 1670, he recommended that the Bay of Kelephá should be defended and that the fortress already there should be built *anew*.⁶⁹ This evidence is critical. If it is accepted, then a castle clearly existed at Kelephá before 1670 and it was rebuilt or repaired by the Turks. The rebuilding might account, at least in part, for the failure of its defenses to measure up to the best principles of late seventeenth-century fortification.

On the other hand, the fortifications at Kelephá, as drawn in the late seventeenth century and visible today, do not seem typical of the castles built by the Franks in the Morea. In particular, it lacks the characteristic donjon or keep so conspicuous at Chlemoútsi in Elis (built 1220–23).⁷⁰ But Kelephá is not alone in this. A keep is absent from the neighboring castle of Passavá, the plan of which is strikingly similar to that of Kelephá. Passavá was built around the same time as Grand Magne and is, apparently, of indisputable Frankish construction.⁷¹ Passavá is a generation or so younger than Chlemoútsi, and it may be that keeps had become

Leake, *Travels*, I, 287; idem, *Peloponnesiaca: A Supplement to Travels in the Morea* (London, 1846), 175.

⁶¹ A. M. Woodward, "Taenarum and Southern Maina," *BSA* 13 (1906–7), 238–57.

⁶² Waterhouse and Hope Simpson, above (note 33).

⁶³ The observations are confirmed independently by P. Greenbaugh and E. Eliopoulos, *Deep into Mani* (London, 1985), 97.

⁶⁴ Waterhouse and Hope Simpson, above (note 33); Pausanias, III.25.9.

⁶⁵ K. Andrews, *Castles of the Morea*, Gennadeion Monograph 4 (Princeton, 1953), 37–39.

⁶⁶ B. Brue, *Journal de la Campagne que le Grand Vézir Ali Pacha a faite en 1715 pour la Conquête de la Morée* (Paris, 1870), 50.

⁶⁷ Andrews, *Castles*, 49–57.

⁶⁸ J. Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant fait en années 1675 et 1676*, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam, 1679), I, 122–23; G. Wheler, *A Voyage into Greece, By G.W. Esq., in Company with Dr. Spon of Lyons* (London, 1682), 47.

⁶⁹ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyâhâtname*, ed. K. R. Bilge (Istanbul, 1928), 609–10. I am grateful to Prof. V. Ménage for considerable help with this passage. Cf. U. Wolfart, *Die Reisen des Evliya-Çelebi durch die Morea* (Munich, 1966), 126.

⁷⁰ Andrews, *Castles*, 147–58, 222–24.

⁷¹ Traquair, above (note 32).

redundant in the Morea by then, as they had in much of northern Europe.⁷² While this might have been true of Kelephá as well, it is also possible that any original keep could have been demolished during one of several possible remodelings and that all traces had vanished before the end of the seventeenth century.

The most likely occasion for radical remodeling followed the occupation of the Máni by Venice ca. 1463–65.⁷³ Previous to this, the fortress may have been affected by the demolition orders of Manuel II Palaeologus, who visited nearby Vítulo in 1415,⁷⁴ though the event is a little obscure. The emperor is certainly credited with ordering the dismantling of the Maniat fortifications (φρούρια).⁷⁵ Miller and Zakythinis are among those who believed that these were the famous towers of the Máni, usually known as πύργοι.⁷⁶ Kougeas, however, has argued that Manuel's order applied to the castles at Léftro, Máini, and Passavá, as well as those in the district of the Melingoi and at Koutíphari.⁷⁷ This would make more sense as a measure to end the civil wars then ruining the Morea and threatening its continued adherence to the Byzantine Empire than the attempted demolition of scores of clan towers scattered over a physically difficult region. In any case, the traditional towers of the region may have been a much later development altogether.⁷⁸ The ruined condition of the castle at Kelephá during the rest of the fifteenth century might account for its acquiring the nickname of *leprous* or *bald* (κελεφά), which first appeared in a Venetian document of 1495.⁷⁹ The necessity of rebuilding the fortress would also have required that it be rendered defensible against

cannon fire. Replanning may not have been necessary, but internal arrangements would have required simplification and the walls ought to have been lowered.⁸⁰ Bastions could have been added at this stage to carry the guns thought necessary to sweep the approaches to the foot of the long curtain walls. The remodeled fortress may have retained its old official name in the form of Maina Grande which appears in Venetian lists of places captured and lost during the Turko-Venetian wars toward the end of the fifteenth century.⁸¹ Thus the character of the fortifications at Kelephá do not preclude it from being entered for consideration as Grand Magne. Moreover, its situation makes strategic sense in terms of both the attempt to contain the Melingoi and the surrender of the pattern of fortresses to the Byzantines.

Kelephá is the closest of the claimants for identification as Grand Magne to the territory controlled by the Melingoi (Fig. 4). It also lies near the western end of the Milolangáda, the eastern entrance to which is dominated by the hilltop castle of Passavá, some 14 km away. Between them, Kelephá and Passavá would have controlled the southern end of the territory of the Melingoi and, while Passavá and Mistrá marked the corners of the eastern flank, Kelephá, Léftro, and Grítsena completed a chain of fortresses along the western side of the mountains. In Porto Vitylo, Kelephá commands "the best natural harbour" on the Messenian Gulf⁸² and one of sufficient importance to be described in detail in Italian and Greek portolans.⁸³ A fifteenth-century Greek portolan actually used the castle as a landmark.⁸⁴ The harbor would obviously have been useful in containing the Melingoi when Frankish reinforcements could still be drawn from the West or even from across the Gulf of Messenia.⁸⁵ Control of the harbor, though, would also have been important to the Byzantines in protecting their flank after 1262 when they regained a foothold in Lakonía. Placing Grand Magne at Kelephá would thus make more strategic sense in the pattern of ceded fortresses (Grítsena, Mistrá, and Geráki) than locating it much further south.

⁷²S. Toy, *A History of Fortification from 3000 B.C. to A.D. 1700* (London, 1955).

⁷³Hopf, *Chroniques*, 385.

⁷⁴J. M. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1969), 317; D. A. Zakythinis, *Le despotat grec de Morée*, II (Athens, 1953), 12–14; cf. also the reprinted ed. of this volume, with bibliographic additions by Chryssa Maltézou (London, 1975).

⁷⁵Eulogy by Demetrius Chrysoloras in S. Lambros, *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, III (Athens, 1929), 242.

⁷⁶W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece* (Cambridge, 1908), 384; Zakythinis, op. cit., 14.

⁷⁷Kougeas, above (note 48).

⁷⁸J. M. Wagstaff, "Vendetta, War and Society in the Morphogenesis of Rural Settlements in the Máni, Greece," in H. Desplanques, ed. *I Paesaggi rurali europei*, Appendici al Bollettino N. 12, Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria (Perugia, 1975), 517–29.

⁷⁹D. V. Vagiakakos, *Βυζαντινὰ ὀνόματα καὶ ἐπώνυμα ἐκ Μάνης*, *Πελοποννησιακά* 3–4 (1958–59), 185–221.

⁸⁰Traquair, above (note 32).

⁸¹Hopf, above (note 22).

⁸²Hydrographic Department, Admiralty, *The Mediterranean Pilot*, III (London, 1957), 55.

⁸³Delatte, above (note 36); Kretschmer, above (note 20).

⁸⁴Portolan I, Delatte, op. cit., 57.

⁸⁵Kriesis, above (note 2).

While Kelephá clearly lies beyond Passavá when approached from Mistrá and presumably in Máini (Criteria 2 and 3), its identification as Grand Magne seems to founder on one of its site characteristics. The site of Kelephá is actually the north-western extremity of a gentle but extremely rocky slope, and the fortress itself stands virtually on the edge of a precipitous slope, broken by cliff lines (Fig. 7). The site is clearly a “steep rock”⁸⁶ or a “crag,” as required by Criterion 3. But, as the map (Fig. 7) shows, it is not really on a promontory. However, appearances can give a different impression. The two valleys that define the site to north and south, as well as the steep slopes that form three sides, give the impression of a headland projecting out toward the sea at the head of Porto Vitylo. The impression is perhaps strongest from the seaward, but it is also given when looking from the high ground to the south (near Tzímova, modern Areópolis) or the north (around Oitýlon). As Kriesis recognized, Coronelli’s drawing of the site

is conclusive (Fig. 8).⁸⁷ Kelephá can be fairly described in Lurier’s translation of the *Chronicle* text as “an awesome crag on a promontory.”

Although Kelephá appears to fit the criteria specified for the identification of Grand Magne and the balance of probability is in its favor, only an archaeological or archival discovery will clinch the argument. What is needed now is a careful search in the Venetian archives for fifteenth-century sources bearing on the Serene Republic’s occupation of the area in the hope that it will provide a specific identification of the two place names, Kelephá and Grand Magne. Alternatively, or in addition, archaeological investigation of the admittedly difficult ruins of Kelephá might throw new light on the dates of construction, modification, and occupation and perhaps thereby finish the debate. Certainly, until entirely new material is brought into the debate, Kelephá remains the best candidate for the site of Grand Magne.

University of Southampton

⁸⁶ “A steep rock” is the translation given by “R. W. Gent.” in his English translation of Coronelli, above (note 38), 85. “Sopra l’eminenza d’un Grebano . . .,” V. Coronelli, *Istoriografiche de Regni della Morea, Negroponte e Littorali fin a Salonichi* (Venice, 1686), 81.

⁸⁷ Kriesis, above (note 2); “Veduta di Chielefa,” in Le Père Coronelli, *Description géographique et historique de la Morée* (Paris, 1686), between pp. 114 and 115. This plate is not included in either the Italian or the English editions of this work which I have seen.